RRR
ROTHBARD-ROCKWELL REPORT
SEPTMPER 1995 VOLUME VI, NUMBER 9

New Rothbard!

Down with the Brits and the Yankees

by Murray N. Rothbard

The idea of a just war has occupied the energies of some of our civilization's most learned and respected figures. For war, as a grave act of killing, needs to be justified.

My own view can be put simply: a *just* war exists when a people tries to ward off the threat of coercive domination by another people, or to overthrow an already existing domination.

A war is unjust, on the other hand, when a people tries to impose domination on another people, or tries to retain an already existing coercive rule over them.

My ideological and political activism has focused on opposition to America's wars, first because I have believed our waging them to be unjust, and second because war, in the penetrating phrase of the libertarian Randolph Bourne, has always been the "health of the State," an instrument for the aggrandizement of State power over the health, the lives, and the prosperity of its subject citizens and social institutions. Even a just war cannot be entered into lightly, and an unjust one must, of course, be anathema.

There are two wars in American history that were, in my view, assuredly and unquestionably proper and just; not only that, the opposing side waged a war that was clearly and notably unjust. We did not have to worry in these two wars about whether a threat against our liberty and property was clear or present enough; in both of these wars, Americans were trying to rid themselves of an unwanted domination by another people. And in both cases, the other side tried ferociously to maintain its coercive rule over Americans. In each case, one side—"our side," if you will—was notably just, the other side unjust.

To be specific, there have been two strikingly just wars in American history: the American Revolution, and the War for Southern Independence.

It is clear that the American Revolution was a just war, a war of peoples forming an independent nation and casting off the bonds of another people insisting on perpetuating their rule over them.

What I want to focus on here is not the grievances that led the American rebels to the view that it had become "necessary for One People to dissolve the political Bonds which have connected them with another." What I want to stress is the ground on which the Americans stood for this solemn and fateful act of separation.

The Americans were steeped in the natural-law philosophy of John Locke, the scholastics, and the classical republicanism of Greece and Rome. There were two major political theories in Britain and Europe during this era. One was the older—but by this time obsolete—absolutist view: that the king was the fa-

Continued on page 3

P.C. Watch

Rethinking Ian Smith

When gay rights activists protested their exclusion from a Zimbabwe book fair, President Robert Mugabe called them "sodomists and sexual perverts." Saying that he was "extremely outraged" that such people lived in his country, he asked what was next, "rights" for "those given to bestiality"?

Mugabe denied that his stance might hurt the fair. "Is the fair based on sodomy?" he asked. Besides, "I don't believe they have any rights at all. I hope the time never comes when we want to reverse nature." However, the South African Publishers Association said it had broken off talks with its Zimbabwean counterparts about a joint book-selling event, and would recommend that its book publishers boycott the Zimbabwe fair in the future. (*New York Times*, 8/2/95)

Continued on page 2

IN THIS ISSUE

Phony America Firsters 7
by Justin Raimondo
I Hate Canada 9
by Paul Gottfried
Newt's Blowup 11
by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

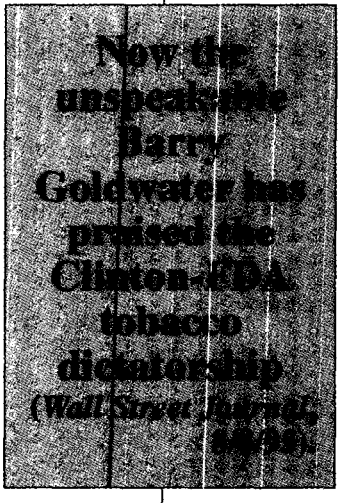
Fr. Coughlin

The *New York Times*, in a feature (7/23/95) entitled "The Unending Search for Demons in the American Imagination," seeks to belittle various "conspiracy theories." But one entry, on the Rev. Charles E. Coughlin, the radio priest of the 1930s, may not have the desired effect. In a broadcast of February 6, 1938, says the *Times*, Father Coughlin outlined a theory "that the threat of a new war could be traced to British bankers' ambitions in Asia," and said:

"America is in the midst of a needless, man-made depression. It is the business of the warlords and their masters of international high finance to maintain this depression with its want in the midst of plenty, its poverty and its useless, needless idleness. It is their business to keep the minds of our own people concentrated upon these evils until such time as the floodgates of billions of dollars for shells and gas and battleships and instruments of destruction are opened wide.

"Then the wolf of war, dressed in the sheep's clothing of good times, shall raise its voice in some pulpit of patriotism, to enlist millions of Americans in the greatest conflict this world has ever known. That is their program, that is their policy with which they hope to win popular support—a policy which, when the last gun will have been fired and the last dough-plow-boy buried, will prove to future generations its unsoundness. Following the world war, some 50 or 80 billions of dollars of debts, represented by bonds held in the hands of the few, will be borne upon the backs of your sons or daughters. Farewell, then, democracy; farewell, liberty; farewell to the precepts of Washington.

"Is that patriotism to enlist our support for war, which will destroy the little children growing to manhood and womanhood tomorrow?"



Barry Pinkwater

When Barry Goldwater endorsed gay rights, liberals cheered, and portrayed it as merely a continuation of his libertarianism. I argued that it was a break with whatever libertarian principles he might have had, since gay rights—the idea that government should force property owners to accept customers, tenants, and employees they don't want—was the antithesis of libertarianism.

Now the unspeakable Barry has praised the Clinton-FDA tobacco dictatorship (*Wall Street Journal*, 8/8/95). The idea that the Emperor Bill, by executive fiat, should be able to outlaw vending machines in Ventura and advertising in Atlanta is anti-Constitution and anti-market. It is also another step on the road to tobacco prohibition, which would please the neo-puritans of the Left, extend the Leviathan, and enrich corrupt BATF police and higher officials in the executive branch.

As to Goldwater, although I gave my heart and soul to him in 1964 (and even 1960), I'd say it's time for some revisionism. Not only on the man today, who also touts the glories of abortion and his hatred of the Christian Right, but on the original.

Given that the sell-outs and statists from *National Review* were running his campaign, how authentic a conservative could Goldwater have been? We can't judge by *Conscience of a Conservative*, since that was written by the great Brent Bozell. As Murray Rothbard might have said, Revise! Revise!

Trouble in Paradise

There's trouble in P.C. paradise. Gays are denouncing Hollywood stars who support animal rights, since animal-rights activists oppose AIDS research using animals. The fact that Alec Baldwin, Kim Basinger, Rue McClanahan, and other red-ribbon wearers also support People for the Ethical Treatment of Animals is "hypocrisy," says AIDS activist Carl Kapanke (*New York Post*, 8/8/95). Worse, "*New York Magazine* recently crowned 'animal rights' the 'No. 1 hip cause on the planet." And when he was asked about AIDS "patients desperately awaiting the results of animal research," Dan Matthews, head of PETA, said, "Don't get the disease in the first place, schmo."

The Last Roundup

There continues to be hysteria about the meeting of white police held each spring in the hills of Tennessee. (And I well understand the glee of the militia members who exposed BATF involvement.) But why is the "Good O' Boys Roundup" considered racist? Because it's an all-white gathering. But every police agency, federal, state, and local, has an all-black fraternity that also holds meetings. In fact, there is a national meeting every year of black police.

Under political correctness, whites are allowed only integration, whereas blacks are allowed integration or segregation, as they see fit. By the way, the prime hysteriacs over the Good Ol' Boys Roundup were members of the Congressional Black Caucus, which bars whites. There is no Congressional White Caucus, of course. That would be racist.

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

Bye-Bye

When *New York Newsday* went out of business, all the liberals cried. Now I know why. As Jim Sleeper points out, it was far more p.c. than even the *New York Times*. *NYN*, bragged an editorial in the final edition, "gave readers a searching exploration of the city's black middle class" and "a very gay appreciation of Batman and Robin's nipples—all in the same issue!"

The newspaper paid immense and loving attention to the troubles of inner-city neighborhoods, and blamed it all on whites. It also "brought in the cookie-cutter columnists—the Latina journalist, the gay monitor of homophobic outrages, and others who were designated to represent a plethora" of official victim groups. Of course, the readers of the former paper were overwhelmingly white, middle-class, and straight. (*New Republic*, 8/21-28/95)

Death-Row Journalist

Liberals from around the world, and at national government radio, have been touting the cause of former Black Panther Mumia Abu-Jamal, an affirmative-action radio commentator on death row for murdering a white policeman in Philadelphia in 1982. His conviction was the result of racism, of course, even though he fired bullets into the cop's back and head as he lay on the ground, after an encounter with a pal and fellow armed robber of Abu-Jamal's. Now he's been granted another stay, which his far-Left lawyer, Leonard Weinglass, called a "very heartening victory." Jesse Jackson, who is also lobbying for the murderer, says "we must stop this cycle of killing and violence."

Since he is still on death row, Abu-Jamal complains, "I still sojourn in Hell." Not yet, baby, not yet.■

Continued from page 1

ther of his nation, and that absolute obedience was owed to the king by the lesser orders; and that any rebellion against the king was equivalent to Satan's rebellion against God.

The natural law view countered that sovereignty originated not in the king but in the people, but that the people had delegated their powers and rights to the king. Hugo Grotius and the other conservative natural lawyers believed that this delegation, once transferred, was irrevocable, so that sovereignty must reside permanently in the king. The more radical libertarian theorists, such as Father Juan de Mariana and John Locke and his followers, believed quite sensibly that since the original delegation was voluntary and contractual, the people had the right to take back that sovereignty should the king grossly violate his trust.

Based on libertarian doctrine and on republican models, the people of the several colonies set up independent sovereign states.

The American revolutionaries, in separating themselves from Great Britain and forming their new nation, adopted the Lockean doctrine. It is well known that the biggest moral and psychological problem the Americans had, and could only bring themselves to overcome after a full year of bloody war, was to violate their oaths of allegiance to the British king. Breaking with the British Parliament, their *de facto* ruler, posed no problem. But the king was their inherited sovereign lord, the person to whom they had all sworn fealty. It was the king to whom they owed allegiance; and so the list of grievances in the Declaration of Independence mentioned only the king, even though in reality Parliament was the major culprit.

Hence the crucial psychological importance to the American revolutionaries of Tom Paine's *Common Sense*, which not only adopted the Lockean view of a justified reclaiming of sovereignty by the American people, but zeroed in on the office of the king. In the words of the New Left, Paine delegitimized and desanctified the king. The king of Great Britain, Paine wrote, is only the descendant of "nothing better than the principal ruffian of some restless gang; whose savage manner or preeminence in subtlety obtained him the title of chief among plunderers." And now the kings, including the "Royal Brute of Great Britain," are but "crowned ruffians."

In making their revolution, then, the Americans cast their lot with a contractual justification for government. Government is not something imposed from above, by some divine act of conferring sovereignty; but contractually, from below, by "consent of the governed."

Based on libertarian doctrine and on republican models, the people of the several colonies set up independent sovereign states. The powers of each government were strictly limited, with most rights and powers reserved to the people, and with checks, balances, and written constitutions severely limiting state power.

These thirteen separate republics, in order to wage their common war against the British Empire, sent representatives to a Continental Congress, and then later formed a Confederation, again with severely limited central powers, to help fight the British. The hotly contested de-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

cision to scrap the Articles and to craft a new Constitution demonstrates conclusively that the central government was not supposed to be perpetual, not to be the sort of permanent one-way trap that Grotius had claimed turned popular sovereignty over to the king forevermore.

In fact, it would be very peculiar to hold that the American revolutionaries had repudiated the idea that a pledge of allegiance to the king was not contractual and revocable, only to turn around a few short years later to enter a compact that turned out to be an irrevocable one-way ticket for permanent central government power. Revocable and contractual to a king, but irrevocable to some piece of paper!

And finally, on this point, does anyone seriously believe that any of the thirteen states would have ratified the Constitution had they believed that it was a one-way Venus fly trap? The Constitution was barely ratified as it is!

So: if the Articles of Confederation could be treated as a scrap of paper, if delegation to the confederate government in the 1780s was revocable, how could the central government set up under the Constitution, less than a decade later, claim that *its* powers were permanent and irrevocable?

And yet, of course, this monstrous illogic is precisely the doctrine proclaimed by the North during the War Between the States. In 1861, the Southern states, believing correctly that their cherished institutions were under grave threat and assault from the central government, decided to exercise their natural, contractual, and constitutional right to withdraw, to "secede" from that Union.

The separate Southern states then exercised their contractual right as sovereign republics to come together in another confederation, the Confederate States of America. If the American Revolutionary War was just, then it necessarily follows that the War for Southern Independence was just, and for the same reason. In neither case was this decision made for "light or transient causes." But if the American Revolutionary cause was *not* just, then neither North nor South had a leg to stand on, and both sides should have returned, hat in hand, to beg forgiveness of the British monarch.

What of the grievances of the two sets of seceders? Were they comparable? The central grievance of the American rebels was the taxing power: the systematic plunder of their property by the British government. Whether it was the tax on stamps, the tax on imports, or the tax on imported tea, taxation was central. The slogan "no taxation without representation" was misleading; in the last analysis, we didn't want "representation" in Parliament; we wanted not to be taxed by Great Britain.

Both the British and the North were waging fierce war to maintain their coercive and unwanted rule over another people.

The other grievances, such as opposition to general search warrants, or to overriding of the ancient Anglo-Saxon principle of trial by jury, were critical because they involved the power to search merchants' properties for "smuggled" goods that had avoided payment of the customs taxes. Trial by jury was vital because no American jury would ever convict such smugglers.

One of the central grievances of the South, too, was the protective tariff that Northerners imposed on Southerners whose major income came from exporting cotton abroad. The protective tariff at one and the same time drove up prices of manufactured goods, forced Southerners and other Americans to pay more for manufactures, and threatened to cut down Southern exports.

What of the opposition to these two just wars? Both were unjust, since both the British and the North were waging fierce war to maintain their coercive and unwanted rule over another people. But if the British wanted to hold and expand their empire, what were the motivations of the North? In the famous words of the abolitionist William Lloyd Garrison, at least early in the struggle, why didn't the North "let their erring sisters go in peace"?

The North, in particular the North's driving force, that ethnocultural group the "Yankees," had been swept by a new form of fanatical and emotional neo-Puritanism. They were driven by a fervent "postmillennialism," which held that, as a precondition for the Second Coming of Jesus Christ, man must set up a thousand-year Kingdom of God on Earth.

This Kingdom, of course, must be a perfect society. In order to be perfect, this Kingdom must be free of sin, which must be stamped out as quickly as possible. Moreover, you yourself would not be saved if you didn't try your hardest to stamp out sin by force. It was very clear to these neo-Puritans that in order to stamp out sin, government, in the service of the saints, is an essential coercive instrument. As historians have summed up the views of all the most prominent of these millennialists, "government is God's major instrument of salvation."

Sin was very broadly defined by the Yankee Puritans as anything which might interfere with a person's free will to embrace salvation, anything which, in the words of the old *Shadow* radio serial, "might cloud men's minds." The particular cloud-forming occasions of sin were liquor ("Demon Rum"), any non-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

religious activity on the Sabbath, slavery, and the Roman Catholic Church.

If anti-slavery, prohibitionism, and anti-Catholicism were grounded in fanatical post-millennialism, the paternalistic big government required for this social program on the state and local levels led logically to a Big Government paternalism in national economic affairs.

Whereas the Democratic Party in the nineteenth century was known as the "party of personal liberty," of states' rights, of minimal government, of free markets and free trade; the Republican Party was known as the "party of great moral ideas," which amounted to the stamping out of sin. On the economic level, the Republicans adopted the Whig program of statism and Big Government: protective tariffs, subsidies to big business, strong central government, large-scale public works, and cheap credit spurred by government.

The Northern war against slavery partook of fanatical millennialist fervor, of a cheerful willingness to uproot institutions, to commit mayhem and mass murder, to plunder and loot and destroy, all in the name of high moral principle and the creation of a perfect world. The Yankee fanatics were the Anabaptists, the Jacobins, the Bolsheviks of their era.

In the pseudo-Biblical and truly blasphemous verses of that quintessential Yankee, Julia Ward Howe, in her so-called "Battle Hymn of the Republic," are summed up the fanatical spirit of Northern aggression for an allegedly redeeming cause.

It should be mentioned that the southern United States was the only place in the 19th century where slavery was abolished by fire and the "terrible swift sword." In every other part of the New World, slavery was peacefully ended by agreement with the slaveholders. But in these other countries—in the West Indies or Brazil, for example—there were no Puritan millennialists to do their bloody work, armed with a gun in one hand and a hymn book in the other.

In the "party of great moral ideas," different men and factions emphasized different aspects of this integrated despotic world outlook. In the fateful Republican convention of 1860, the major candidates for President were two veteran abolitionists: William Seward of New York, and Salmon P. Chase of Ohio. Seward, however, was distrusted by the anti-Catholic hotheads because he somehow did not care about the alleged Catholic menace; on the other hand, while Chase was happy to play along with the former Know-Nothings, who stressed the anti-Catholic part of the coalition, he was distrusted by Sewardites and others who were indifferent to the Catholic question.

Yankee fanatics were the Anabaptists, the Jacobins, the Bolsheviks of their era.

Abraham Lincoln of Illinois was a dark horse, who was able successfully to finesse the Catholic question; his major emphasis was on Whig economic statism: high tariffs, huge subsidies to railroads, and public works. As one of the leading lawyers for Illinois Central and other big railroads, Lincoln was the candidate of the railroad magnates.

Thus, one reason for Lincoln's victory at the convention was that Iowa railroad entrepreneur Grenville M. Dodge helped swing the Iowa delegation to Lincoln. In return, early in the Civil War, Lincoln appointed Dodge as general. Dodge's task was to clear the Indians from the designated path of the country's first heavily subsidized federally chartered transcontinental railroad, the Union Pacific.

Having successfully employed Union troops against the Indians, Grenville Dodge left the Union Army to become one of the leaders of the Union Pacific. In this way, conscripted Union troops and hapless taxpayers were coerced into socializing the costs of constructing and operating the Union Pacific. This sort of action is now called "the cooperation of government and industry."

But Lincoln's major focus was on raising taxes; in particular, raising and enforcing the protective tariff. His convention victory was particularly made possible by support from the Pennsylvania delegation. Pennsylvania had long been the home and political focus of the nation's iron and steel industry, which ever since its inception during the War of 1812 has been chronically inefficient, and has therefore constantly been bawling for high tariffs and, later, import quotas.

Virtually the first act of the Lincoln Administration was to pass the Morrill protective tariff act, doubling existing tariff rates. In his First Inaugural, Lincoln was conciliatory about maintaining slavery, but hardline about collecting all the customs tariffs in the South.

As Lincoln put it, the federal government would "collect the duties and imposts, but beyond what may be necessary for these objects, there will be no invasion, no using of force against...people anywhere." The significance of the federal forts is that they provided the soldiers to enforce the customs tariffs; thus, Fort Sumter was at the entrance to Charleston Harbor—apart from New Orleans, the major port of the South. The federal troops at Sumter were needed to enforce the tariffs that were supposed to be levied at Charleston Harbor.

Of course, Abraham Lincoln's conciliatory words cannot be taken at face value. Lincoln was a master politician, which means that he was

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

a consummate conniver, manipulator, and liar. The federal forts were the key to his successful prosecution of the war. Lying to South Carolina, Abraham Lincoln managed to do what Franklin D. Roosevelt and Henry Stimson did at Pearl Harbor eighty years later; maneuvering the Southerners into firing the first shot. By manipulating the South into opening fire on a federal fort, Lincoln made the South appear to be "aggressors" in the eyes of Northern moderates.

Outside of New England and territory populated by transplanted New Englanders, the idea of forcing the South to stay in the Union was highly unpopular. In many middle-tier states, including Maryland, New Jersey, New York, and even Pennsylvania, there was considerable sentiment to mimic the South by forming a Middle Confederacy to isolate the pesky and fanatical Yankees. Even after the war began, the mayor of New York City and many other dignitaries of the city proposed that the city secede from the Union, and make peace and engage in free trade with the South.

The Lincoln Administration and the Republican Party took advantage of the overwhelmingly Republican Congress after the secession of the South to push through almost the entire Whig economic program. Lincoln signed no fewer than ten tariff-raising bills during his administration. Heavy "sin" taxes were levied on alcohol and tobacco, the income tax was levied for the first time in American history, huge land grants and monetary subsidies were handed out to transcontinental railroads, accompanied by a vast amount of attendant corruption; and the government went off the gold standard and virtually nationalized the banking system to establish a machine for printing new money and to provide cheap credit for the business elite.

And furthermore, the New Model Army and the war effort rested on a vast and unprecedented amount of federal coercion against Northerners as well as the South; a huge army was conscripted, dissenters and advocates of a negotiated peace with the South were jailed, and the precious Anglo-Saxon right of *habeas corpus* was abolished for the duration.

Lincoln was a consummate conniver, manipulator, and liar.

What about the rest of the millennialist worldview? While it is true that Lincoln himself was not particularly religious, that did not really matter since he adopted all the attitudes and temperament of his evangelical allies. He was stern and sober, he was personally opposed to alcohol and tobacco, and he opposed the private carrying of guns.

An ambitious seeker of the main chance from early adulthood, Lincoln acted viciously toward his own humble frontier family in Kentucky. He abandoned his fiancee in order to marry a wealthier Mary Todd, whose family was friendly with the eminent Henry Clay, he repudiated his brother, and he refused to attend his dying father or his father's funeral, monstrously declaring that such an experience "would be more painful than pleasant." No doubt!

Lincoln, too, was a typical example of a secular, liberal humanitarian in another dimension: a familiar modern "reform liberal" type whose heart bleeds for and yearns to "uplift" remote mankind, while he treats abominably actual people whom he knew. And so Abraham Lincoln, in a phrase prefiguring our own beloved Mario Cuomo, declared that The Union was really "a family, bound indissolubly together by the most intimate organic bonds." Kick your own family, and then transmute familial spiritual feelings toward a hypostatized and mythical entity, "The Union," which then must be kept intact regardless of concrete human cost or sacrifice.

Indeed, there is a vital difference between the two unjust causes we have considered, the British and the North. The British, at least, were fighting on behalf of a cause which, even if wrong and unjust, was coherent and intelligible: that is, the sovereignty of a hereditary monarch.

What was the *North's* excuse for their monstrous war of plunder and mass murder against their fellow Americans? Not allegiance to an actual, real person, the king; but allegiance to a non-existent, mythical, quasi-divine alleged entity, "The Union." The king was at least a real person, and the merits or demerits of a particular king or the monarchy in general can be argued. But where is "The Union" located? How are we to gauge the Union's deeds? To whom is the Union accountable?

No, this fictional entity was taken, by its Northern worshippers, from a contractual institution that can either be cleaved to or scrapped, and transformed into a divinized entity which must be worshipped, and which must be permanent, unquestioned, and all-powerful. There is no heresy greater, no political theory more pernicious, than sacralizing the secular.

But this monstrous process is exactly what occurred when Abraham Lincoln and his northern colleagues made a god out of the Union. If the British forces fought for bad King George, the Union armies pillaged and murdered on behalf of this pagan idol, this "Union," this Moloch that demanded terrible human sacrifice to sustain its power and its glory.

For in this War Between the States, the South may have fought for its sacred honor; but the North-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

ern war was the very opposite of honorable. Civilized nations with great care had developed classical international law. Above all, civilians must not be targeted; wars must be limited. But the North insisted on creating a conscript army, a nation in arms, and broke the nineteenth-century rules of war by specifically plundering and slaughtering civilians, by destroying civilian life and institutions so as to reduce the South to submission.

Sherman's infamous March through Georgia was one of the great war crimes, and crimes against humanity, of the past century and a half. By targeting and butchering civilians, Lincoln, Grant, and Sherman paved the way for all the genocidal horrors of the monstrous twentieth century.

There has been a lot of talk in recent years about memory, about Never Forgetting, about History as retroactive punishment for crimes of war and mass murder. The great libertarian historian, Lord Acton, said that the historian, in the last analysis, must be a moral judge. The muse of the historian, he wrote, is not Clio, but Rhadamanthus, the legendary avenger of innocent blood.

In that spirit, then, we must always remember, we must Never Forget, we must put in the dock and hang higher than Haman, these who in modern times opened the Pandora's Box of genocide and the extermination of civilians: Sherman, Grant, and Lincoln.

Perhaps, some day, *their* statues, like Lenin's in Russia, will be toppled and melted down; *their* insignias and battle flags will be desecrated, *their* war songs tossed into the fire. And then Davis and Lee and Jackson and Forrest, and all the heroes of the South, "Dixie" and the Battle Flag, will once again be truly honored and remembered.

The classic comment on that meretricious TV series, *The Civil War*, was made by that marvelous and feisty Southern writer, Florence King. Asked her views on the series, she replied: "I didn't have time to watch *The Civil War*. I'm too busy getting ready for the next one." In that spirit, I am sure that one day, aided and abetted by people in the glorious Copperhead tradition, the South shall rise again!

This article is excerpted from a speech delivered by the late Murray N. Rothbard at the Mises Institute's "Cost of War" conference. Phone 334-844-2500 to order a set of the audio tapes, featuring Rothbard and 20 other giants of the Right, for $79.

Phony America Firsters

by Justin Raimondo

Leafing through the July 31 issue of *National Review*, the headline "Keep America First" naturally attracted my attention: had the last of the Cold War internationalists finally come over to our side?

Alas, it turned out to be a major case of false advertising. Defending Republicans against the heinous charge that they have turned into "isolationists," the editors of *NR* aver that the GOP "remains committed to global leadership" but ruefully acknowledge that, yes, "the GOP majority shows little interest in foreign policy."

National Review fibs once again

Particularly "worrisome" are the freshmen, "so exemplary in other respects." The great danger, we are told, is that "the party risks becoming operationally isolationist"; that is, "isolationist" in fact, if not in theory.

After half a century of a bipartisan foreign policy of global interventionism, a rising wing of the GOP challenges holy writ—and what a refreshing development *that* is!

"U.S. foreign policy must seek prudently to advance American interests abroad." because "the U.S. is not a corps of armed social workers." Earlier in the editorial, the editors had contended that "National lawmakers have a duty to attend to foreign affairs" because "defending the country from external menace" is the "principal justification" for the existence of the federal government. Now, instead of merely defending, we are *advancing* American interests abroad. But *whose* interests are being advanced as embodying those of the nation?

A look at this issue of *National Review*, billed on the cover as a "Special Defense and Technology Issue," provides us with a ready answer. Not only the content, but also the many ads.

A typical ad by McDonnell Douglas features a C-17 transport plane landing on some foreign runway under a brooding electric purple sky: "A world crisis doesn't care about time, location or the length of its runway," reads the headline. "That's why America has the C-17..., the only widebody airlifter that can deliver American help to small, hard to reach airfields anywhere in the world.... So go ahead, let a world crisis be inconsiderate. We're ready."

Ready, that is, to reap enormous profits from a foreign policy that demands the capacity to make worldwide war.

NR wants us to *increase* mili-

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

tary spending in the name of a tautology: "America's most important national interest is the maintenance of its position as the world's sole superpower. Only a hegemonic power is able to guarantee peace, stability, and freedom of commerce among major powers, and no country other than America can do the job."

It may be true that only America can do the job, but *why* is it in our interest to take on such a Sisphyean task? What baffles the ideologues of "collective security" and American world "hegemony"—an ugly Marxoid word—is how to justify a system based on what the great Old Right historian Harry Elmer Barnes called "perpetual war for perpetual peace."

To make the case for Empire, *National Review* has employed none other than Maggie Thatcher.

The editors of *NR* try several rationales on for size, but none really seem to fit. Although they state hopefully that "some threats are already emerging," this is hardly convincing enough to justify expanding both the military-industrial complex and the web of entangling alliances that embroil us in every conflict.

But we do know that the foreign policy of the Respectable Right, as enunciated by the voice of the munitions makers, "rejects both President Clinton's multilateralism and Pat Buchanan's neoisolationism in favor of assertive leadership to Keep America First."

The original slogan, "America First," was put forward by the America First Committee, which opposed U.S. meddling in European wars, and upheld the wisdom of the Founding Fathers' warning against "entangling alliances." The legacy of America First belongs to those of us who want to end the foreign aid racket, the "collective security" racket, and the United Nations racket, all of which cost us billions—and, too often, the blood of American soldiers—*not* to *NR*.

To make the case for Empire, *National Review* has employed none other than Maggie Thatcher, who is depicted on the cover with her face superimposed over that of the Statue of Liberty—a graphical image that dramatizes *NR*'s real loyalties.

Thatcher complains that her opposition to British submergence in the European Union was misunderstood. Far from being "'obsessed with the outdated notion of sovereignty,'" she opposes the EU because she considers it "an obstacle to fruitful internationalism." It is the European federalists, she asserts, who "are in fact" 'narrow inter-nationalists,' 'little Europeans,' who consistently place the interests of the [European] Community above the common interests of the wider international community."

Her own loyalty is to wider, ocean-spanning internationalism; the European federalists, in Thatcher's view, are not internationalist enough. For Thatcher fears "an unstable world" like "1914 played on a somewhat larger stage."

Why Thatcher considers this an ominous development has much to do with the fact that she is, after all, a British Tory. For what American conservative worth his salt would *not* gladly trade this world (and especially America) as it is today with that lost golden age: before the income tax, before the New Deal, before the Bolsheviks blighted the planet.

Britain's role should, of course, be "disproportionately influential." But what real American cares?

Smeared as "isolationism" in this country, attacked by both President Clinton and the editors of *National Review*, a new American nationalism is rising along with the anti-government populism that swept the country in the last elections.

That is why *National Review* is so worried about those Republican freshmen, and so eager to steal the slogan "America First." But Maggie Thatcher revealed the true nature of this phony "America First" policy when, in making the case for a U.S. world empire with Britain as junior partner, she wrote: "collective security can only really be provided if there is a superpower of last resort."

Here is how our wonderful allies think of us, Uncle Sam in the role of Uncle Sap, the "superpower of last resort." Is Europe sinking into a morass of hatreds that were old before the Pilgrims landed? Are the vestiges of British imperialism in the Middle East threatening to ignite a regional conflagration? Is the Korean peninsula on the brink of war? Don't worry, my friend—we can send in the Americans. Their dollars will pay our debts, their blood will redeem us.

This is how a great nation came to be crucified on the cross of internationalism. The "dominant" role Maggie prescribes for the U.S. is, in reality, that of a sacrificial lamb. As the great Old Right polemicist Garet Garrett noted, the economics of Empire are such that "everything goes out and nothing comes in." Afraid that "budgetary pressures will tempt the U.S. to withdraw" from Europe, Maggie stands ready to quash such spineless self-indulgence.

The program put forward by *National Review* has nothing to do with putting America First—unless one means first to pay the bills, spill the blood, and bear the burden of Empire. In place of Americanism, the editors of *NR* have even had the

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

nerve to coin an "ism" of their own, earnestly exhorting us to "take steps to promote a renewed commitment to transatlanticism."

This loony, over-intellectualized abstraction will generate about as much enthusiasm among conservatives as a proposal to adopt Esperanto as our official language, and demonstrates the distance that separates the neoconservative intelligentsia from the mass base of the conservative movement.

That's why a political program to stay out of foreign wars, to steer clear of foreign entanglements, and to guard our own borders against an invasion of illegal aliens, will win the day.■

Mr. Raimondo's seminal book on the history and resurgence of the Old Right, Reclaiming the Right, *is $15 from the* RRR. *Phone 1-800-325-7257 to order.*

I Hate Canada

by Paul Gottfried

On a recent trip to northern Nova Scotia, it became clear to me that our Canadian neighbors put up with a degree of government theft that would be intolerable even in Bill Clinton's America. In return for their welfare state, which features medical plans and partly subsidized university tuitions, Canadians surrender to the federal and provincial governments well over 50% of their earnings. This does not include 20% sales taxes and provincial excise taxes.

Allow me to be up front about my prejudice. I loathe the Canadian government more than any other regime I have ever had to deal with, including that of Communist Hungary. Canadian bureaucrats are the self-righteous custodians of socialist virtue, and they reek with a kind of Anglo-Saxon Labourite smarminess.

Since the death of my wife I have fought against a thousand legal obstacles and an army of "concerned" Canadian judges and administrators to gain possession of property in Toronto bequeathed to my children by their mother. The Canadians have done all that is legally possible, including the rejection of legal forms with slightly smudged print, to keep the estate from going through probate.

Things that irk Americans, at least normal ones, about their government are to most Canadians entirely inoffensive. Thus the imposition of affirmative action programs in Canadian universities and government-related industries and operations has not caused the anger north of the border which is now exploding against this practice in the U.S.

For many years I have speculated on the reasons for the remarkable passivity shown by Canadians in the face of an overbearing managerial state. Why do they allow their state to strip them of their money, cultural identity, and so much more and barely react, outside of the Western provinces, which resemble politically and socially our mountain states?

Allow me to be up front about my prejudice.

Why do the majority of Anglophone Canadians, who reside in Ontario, give over to public administrators control of their lives? Americans have done much of the same. But there is also a rising populist reaction abroad in the U.S. Moreover, the public sector and taxation in the U.S. are more restricted than in Canada. Both have grown more rapidly among Canadians, especially since the 1970s.

Certain historical explorations have been advanced to account for the differences between the two societies. And though all have merit, neither individually nor together do they add up to a sufficient cause. True, the U.S. was founded upon a classical liberal experience, a taxpayers' revolt, whereas Canada was ruled directly by the British Crown into the second half of the 19th century. Thus Canadians, unlike their American cousins, developed a natural deference for centralized authority, even if it did not rest upon their consent.

The frictions between English and French Canadians furthered the tendency among both groups to look to the government as an arbitrator. It may be argued that Canadian political fights have focused too often on linguistic honors. The result has been to allow administrators to tax people blind.

These explanations are useful but require qualifications. The British Protestant settlers of Anglophone Canada were not significantly different from those who went to the Thirteen Colonies, and most of their early history shows the same patterns of legal self-rule. The Loyalists who fled from the American revolutionaries were not royal lackeys but people of independent judgment who resisted intimidation.

The French Catholics had their own independent streak. Those in the Maritimes developed highly scientific agriculture in the mid-eighteenth century with irrigation dikes that kept out salt water. And though a "priest-ridden" and "economically backward" people—from an English point of view—the Quebecois in Upper Canada were certainly not drones of any central power.

The point is, there were conditions that predisposed Canadians to their present managerial captivity, but there is no justification for exaggerating either their prevalence or

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

effect. It is not so much what it was but what has changed in the Canadian character which has created a servile people for a servile state.

The two once dominant cultures have collapsed into therapeutic mush, a combination of yuppieism, victimology, and socialism, and except for a linguistic difference, it is almost impossible to tell them apart. After watching hours of Anglophone and Francophone TV and reading reams of English and French Canadian newspapers, I am astonished by how little they differ. *CBC, Radio Canada, Le Devoir*, and the *Toronto Star* all feature the same special pleading on behalf of feminists, gays, "disadvantaged" West Indians, native Americans, and Inuit (a.k.a. Eskimos).

The *Toronto Star* ran a feature story in mid-July about a timely resolution that will be brought up and no doubt adopted at the Canada Convention of the Evangelical Lutheran Church this month. The resolution will call for a repudiation of Martin Luther's anti-Semitism and express regret for the putative effects of this prejudice.

Does *Canada Lutheran* show the same alacrity in bewailing Luther's attacks on Anabaptists as they do in apologizing for his anti-Semitism?

The story's author, Michael McAteer, is clearly gratified that the Lutheran delegates will "confront their founders' hatred," which contributed to the Holocaust because "Nazis... quoted his writings to justify and legitimize their persecution of the Jews." The editor of the magazine *Canada Lutheran* believes that "the resolution may be a small gesture but is appropriate and timely." In the May issue of Canada's leading Lutheran publication, the same editor answers the question: "Is this really past history or are we being naive about the depth of anti-Semitism? I continue to hear anti-Semitic slurs from some of our members in casual conversation. Signs of anti-Semitism continue to appear in Canada. Fringe groups spout neo-Nazi slogans and some deny that the Holocaust ever happened."

The associations are both arbitrary and hysterical. It is doubtful that any connection can be shown to exist between the elderly Luther's diatribes against Jews and the "spouting of neo-Nazi slogans" in Canada. It is also unclear what the editorial means by "anti-Semitic slurs," which can refer to anything nowadays, from real vilification to momentary departures from politically correct language.

Nor is it explained what kind of relation is supposed to exist between questioning the reality of the Holocaust and Luther's slighting reference to German Jews. Does one presuppose the other? Would the Nazi persecution of Jews and criticism of the history of the Holocaust have come about without Luther?

As far as I can see, Luther's role was minimal in the first case and nonexistent in the second. It is also doubtful whether Luther's unfavorable comments about Jews, uttered toward the end of his life, had any effect on the character of Lutheran churches. Almost all of them from the beginning were under state control and took political positions accordingly.

Why should Canadian Lutherans accept responsibility for insensitive remarks made by their founder? There is no sane reason they should. They are certainly not going around inciting their countrymen to violent acts against Jews or anyone else; and there is no demonstrable causal relation between Luther's badmouthing of Jews and Canadian neo-Nazism. The latter, we are told, is a fringe movement in any case.

Luther abetted worse things against other Christians than against Jews. He actively encouraged the persecution and slaying of Anabaptists, which Lutheran princes carried out. Does *Canada Lutheran* show the same alacrity in bewailing Luther's attacks on Anabaptists as they do in apologizing for his anti-Semitism? The answer is obvious.

Anabaptists, Calvinists, and Catholics, all of whom Luther vented his spleen on, are unmistakable members of Western Christian civilization. The leaders of one of Canada's largest Protestant denominations therefore cannot appear politically correct or properly contrite if they mention any of these Christian groups as objects of Luther's invective.

Jews, by contrast, enjoy standing as victims of the Christian world. Though it would be hard to demonstrate that Luther contributed to their victimization, apologizing in his name to Jews and other designated victims of Western prejudice does win applause from Canada's elite press.

While all this does not explain fully the submissiveness of Canadians to their government, it does indicate features of Canadian life which have bearing on this topic. Anglophone Canadians have embraced our therapeutic culture, to the point of imitating our worst victimological lunacy. (All the buses in Toronto are now sporting signs with the warning in large red letters: "Homophobia is a social disease!")

What one sees in Canada is also present throughout the West and not only in the U.S. It is the establishment of what Sam Francis

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

calls a transnational managerial elite. Though present in what remains of the private sector, this elite is especially well entrenched in public administration, public universities, and service industries which feed off public revenues. It is also fatefully allied to the communications sector, which works zealously to increase government control over everything once held to be private.

As in the U.S. the establishment of the welfare state was only a transitional stage, to the mental reconstruction now being undertaken by political and media elites.

Unlike the Americans, who once revolted against arbitrary taxation, the Canadians have no such tradition to romanticize and revive. Though I myself find much in the Loyalist cause to admire, particularly the stubborn refusal to renounce a monarch who by modern standards was certainly no tyrant, the revolutionary precedent is what protects us against the kind of monster government which Canadians take for grated.

Despite Bill Clinton's rejection of any comparison between our Militiamen and 18th-century Patriots, to most Americans it is not absurd to believe in the right of citizens to protect themselves against perceived political tyranny. Most Americans still believe, however weakly, that government and public administration depend on the continuing consent of the citizenry. This means that citizens have the right to pass judgment on the entire regime—and not only over its office-holding fixtures and rotating parties.

Citizens have the right to pass judgment on the entire regime—and not only over its office-holding fixtures and rotating parties.

Canadians believe nothing of the kind. They accept their rulers, whether royal tax collectors or scientific socialists, and lack the emotional and moral resources to oppose either effectively.■

Dr. Gottfried's indispensable Conservative Movement *is $18 postpaid from the* RRR. *Phone 1-800-325-7257.*

Rothbard-Rockwell Report (ISSN 1080-4420) is published monthly by the Center for Libertarian Studies, 875 Mahler Rd., Suite 150, Burlingame, CA 94010. (800) 325-7257. Second-Class Postage paid at Burlingame, CA 94010 and additional mailing offices. Postmaster: Send address changes to Rothbard-Rockwell Report, P.O. Box 4091, Burlingame, CA 94011. *Editors:* Murray N. Rothbard (1926–1995) and Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr. *Contributing Editors:* Sarah Barton, David Gordon, Paul Gottfried, Michael Levin, and Justin Raimondo. *Publisher:* Burton S. Blumert. *Associate Publisher:* Daniel Rosenthal. *Managing Editor:* Sybil Regan. Subscription: $49 for 12 issues. Single issue: $5. Copyright ©1995 by the Center for Libertarian Studies. All rights reserved. Unauthorized reproduction of this newsletter or its contents by xerography, facsimile, or any other means is illegal.

Newt's Blowup

by Llewellyn H. Rockwell, Jr.

Anyone who followed Gingrich's career before he was elected speaker knew exactly what was going on. He made his name by opposing two powerful Democratic politicians in the House, Tip O'Neill and Jim Wright, and was widely credited with their demise in public opinion and public life.

But aside from his partisan politicking, Gingrich was a liberal Republican: a big spending, big taxing, big regulating, welfare-warfare statist whose vision for the party consisted of recruiting more black voters by any means. Of course the liberals were glad to tout Gingrich (and his friends like Jack Kemp) as a new breed of scary, young radicals. Yet he represented exactly the kind of opposition they dream of: partisan on trivial matters, bipartisan on substance.

Naturally, the Reign of Gingrich has been a disaster. He used the Revolutionary Moment of December 1994-January 1995 to arrange the bailout of Mexico, make the silly "Contract with America" the only permissible legislative agenda, and accumulate massive amounts of money and personal power. He now wields that power to exclude any agenda more radical than his own. The truth is, the man on the street has a more radical agenda than Gingrich.

His greatest crime has been to make the freshman voting bloc almost completely impotent through exclusion. He has broken his promise to abolish, or even cut, the Public Broadcasting Corporation, the National Endowment for the Arts, and the National Endowment for the Humanities. Most people on the Right view these items as the *bare minimum* for this Republican Congress.

But no one—except those who have come to expect the worst from him—thought he would become Congress's leading defender of the Clean Air Act, the Endangered Species Act, and affirmative action. (Even quota programs operated within the House's direct purview

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED

have survived unscathed.)

The Official Conservative Movement has played along, of course, pretending that something revolutionary is going on in Washington, and that we should all cheer. But that position has become increasingly implausible. They have withheld their criticisms, to the extent they have any, in hopes of sharing in the power and glory of the new Congressional Republicans. But in recent months, it has become obvious that the only people on whom Newt Gingrich bestows power and glory are liberals and their friends.

Gingrich has spent more time with D.C. mayor Marion Barry than any Beltway conservative, and more time listening to D.C. residents than the conservative-revolutionary American masses.

The whispers against Gingrich have grown to audible voices in the months since the Contract passed, but the first person within the Beltway to openly discuss the Revolution Betrayed was syndicated columnist Robert Novak.

Novak, who has paleo instincts, pointed out in a column that Gingrich's new book contains no criticism or even discussion of affirmative action. Moreover, Gingrich has backed away from even hampering it (much less repealing the disastrous 1964 civil right act, as real conservatives want).

Gingrich's response to the Novak column was proof once again that nothing bugs a neocon like being attacked from the Right. Neocon magazine editor Emmett Tyrrell hosted a dinner for Gingrich, attending mostly by conservative journalists, including Novak.

Gingrich has never been the most mannered guy in the world, but he surprised even his critics by immediately going into a wild tirade against Novak's column. His voice even louder, shriller, and higher pitched than usual, Gingrich claimed that a chapter of his book did contain criticism of affirmative action (a lie), reminded the people assembled how important blacks like far-leftist John Lewis (D-GA) are to the Republican Party(!), and warned against a "race-based campaign" in 1996, i.e., any discussion of the government's anti-white crusade.

Even aides said they had never seen the shouting and gesticulating Gingrich as out of control for as long a period as he was at this dinner. He repeatedly screamed that the real problem he is having in the House was not the liberals but conservatives in his own party, who want him to push conservative legislation that might not pass. Take a risk on principle? Forget it.

Novak must have wondered why he should have to suffer this kind of abuse, and perhaps now he'll write those columns on the Mexican bailout and taxes that he had decided to pull in the name of party unity.

But after having been named and denounced by Gingrich, he would no longer hold his peace on the subjects discussed, or, rather, shouted at him. Novak's retaliatory strike appeared one week later in the *Washington Post*: "Anger at the Dinner Table." In it, Novak recounted the details of the blowup. He notes that even Paul Weyrich warns that Gingrich is following the failed lead of Reagan "in setting the parameters of permissible conservatism."

"In effect," Novak writes, "the speaker is saying: Nobody can be to the right of me and be respectable." That's the neocon strategy, of course, but since practically every American voter, and certainly the masses of the Republican Party, are more conservative than Gingrich, he must shoot right in order to enforce this rule. But as Novak says, "a major political leader is in grave danger when he assails his base."

Unite, anti-Gingrich forces, and throw out the biggest bum of them all, the betrayer of the November revolution the man who helps keep our taxes high.

He will try to deflect some of the trouble by tossing scraps in the general direction of Massachusetts Avenue, Washington's think-tank row. The complicity of the conservative/libertarian Capitol Hill gang can usually be bought with a photo-op.

What Gingrich cannot control is the opinion of the Republican activists at the grass roots, including the conservative opponents of affirmative action, the Christian Right, the isolationists, and the anti-environmentalist activists. All four of these groups are growing wise to Gingrich's sellouts. If Gingrich doesn't reverse himself on abortion, war, race, and eco-craziness soon—and that seems very unlikely—he could become the target of mass opposition within his own party. And we should strive to make it so.

Unite, anti-Gingrich forces, and throw out the biggest bum of them all, the betrayer of the November revolution, the man who helps keep our taxes high, our businesses regulated, our people oppressed, and our troops and tax dollars overseas.

Resign now, Newt, or suffer the public humiliation of having your own party toss you down the Capitol steps, to land with Jim Wright and Tip O'Neill in the junk heap of failed liberal politicians. ■

LICENSED TO UNZ.ORG
ELECTRONIC REPRODUCTION PROHIBITED